

PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 78

London: December 11, 1937

2d.

DICK SHEPPARD MEMORIAL SCHEME LAUNCHED

Pacifists Respond to the Call for Sacrifice

THE grand total of the Dick Sheppard Memorial Fund to date is £8,940. Already plans are being discussed for the best use of this fund so as to provide a fitting permanent memorial to the founder and leader of the Peace Pledge Union.

The fund is, of course, still open, and indeed it is hoped that the many thousands of members of the Peace Pledge Union who have not yet given anything to it will quickly do so to enable Dick Sheppard's work to go on. **SEND SOMETHING NOW TO 96 REGENT STREET, LONDON, W.1.**



GEORGE LANSBURY,

who left, on Wednesday, on a visit to Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Austria, the principal object of which is to encourage support of the idea of a new economic conference as a step toward general appeasement.

Mr. Lansbury is accompanied by the Rev. Henry Carter and Percy W. Bartlett of Embassies of Reconciliation, the body which arranged his visits to President Roosevelt, Herr Hitler, &c. He expected to be in Prague on Thursday, after which he was to spend a few days in Warsaw and travel to Vienna next Thursday.

In each case, by arrangement with the Ambassador in London, he hopes to meet the President, Prime Minister, and Foreign Secretary. He is already assured of a warm welcome in all three countries.

A lunch-hour meeting to welcome him back will be held in Friends House, London, N.W.1, on December 23.

P.P.U. is Not Running Away from Reality

From Our Own Correspondent
THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION IS NOT AN ESCAPE FROM REALITY. This was the verdict of a crowded audience in the Corn Exchange, Leicester, last Friday, which defeated, by a comfortable majority, a motion declaring that it was.

The Bishop of Leicester was in the chair and Harold Nicolson, M.P., defended his motion against Lord Ponsonby, who delighted the audience with his persuasive humour.

Harold Nicolson declared he would never be among those who ridiculed or underestimated the worth of the P.P.U. He regarded it as of profound seriousness and increasing power, guided and directed by men of high-minded integrity.

But he felt they should have national strength first and national Christian gentleness after that—to which Lord Ponsonby replied that he was not asking people to be good, but that they should not be foolish.

The audience of nearly 600 was the result of intensive advance propaganda by local pacifists.

(Lord Ponsonby's weekly article—page two.)

FOREIGN PACIFISTS IN PRISON

NON-PACIFISTS frequently say that war resistance would be effective only if it were international.

Readers of PEACE NEWS know that it is international, for we publish regularly news of the activities of war resisters all over the world. (Some of their work is reported on page three this week.)

Moreover many war resisters will again be spending Christmas in prison. Announcing the decision of the War Resisters' International to withhold the names of most of such prisoners, H. Runham Brown, secretary of the W.R.I., told PEACE NEWS:

Oppression is so great that a large number of greetings is not likely to reach our comrades in some prisons, and in other cases is even liable to result in doing them harm.

The W.R.I. can, however, give names and addresses of the following, to all of whom cards bearing short greetings may be sent for Christmas or the New Year:

FRANCE

Gérard Leretour, Prison de Mans, France.

FRENCH GUIANA

Henri Meynaud, Poste Restante, Cayenne, French Guiana.

If possible write to both the above in French.

HOLLAND

All the following prisoners are at Rijks-werkinrichting, Veenhuizen, Holland:

Jean Hielkema; Jan de Jong; Gerbrand Stam; Wim Laman; Laurens van Woezik; Jacob Meulenkamp; Henny Overbeek; Jelle de Vries; H. J. A. ter Horst; Johannes Voorenkamp.

Write in Dutch, English, or German to the above.

POLAND

Karol Malysa, Premysl, wojsk, wiez sl. Nr.X., Poland.

Michael Bryl, Brzesc n/Bugiem, Szpitalna 14.w.k., Poland.

Stanislaw Czerniak, Brzesc n/Bugiem, wojsk w.sl.Nr.IX, Poland.

Franciszek Zagrodski, c/o W.R.I., 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Other Polish war resisters in prison may not receive greetings.

DENMARK

To the men doing alternative service (a collective greeting to all in the work camps) addressed:—

1. Militaernaegterlejren, Gribskov, Maa-rum, Denmark.

2. Militaernaegterlejren, Kompedal, Enges-vang, Denmark.

To Continue the Work He Began

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

THE outstanding feature of the collection taken at the Memorial meeting held in the Albert Hall, London, on Saturday, was the number of promises made for £1. Actually, about 700 people promised in all nearly £1,500.

This was possibly due to the fact that the meeting was chiefly composed of rank and file members of the Peace Pledge Union.

There were two anonymous donations of £1,000 and one of £500; cheques received at the meeting amounting to more than £2,750.

Apart from these sums, the amount collected in cash was nearly £500, making a total of £4,850 as the amount collected at the meeting.

Making the appeal which preceded the collection, **Dr. Donald Soper** said it could be an integral and essential part of our remembrance of Dick Sheppard, and our preparation for the continuance of the work which he began.

"I for one believe we may be standing on the edge of a pacifist landslide," said Dr. Soper.

"We cannot be ready for it unless we are equipped with the necessary finance to make it operative and to make it real.

"We have no choice as pacifists in the world unless we can demonstrate in our cause a similar loyalty, sacrifice, and devotion as have been demonstrated by those who have committed themselves to what we know to be the evil of war."

The first tribute to Dick Sheppard, in a programme which included community singing, an organ recital, and renderings by Harold Williams and by a choir, was paid by **George Lansbury**, chairman of the meeting. He told of Dick Sheppard's certainty that if only those who say they believe in

"We Ought Now to Get Ahead"

From a Correspondent

Several times during the proceedings at the Albert Hall on Saturday evening I found myself involuntarily looking up at the topmost gallery for Dick Sheppard—expecting to see him looking down on it all.

Nor, as I discovered afterward, was I the only one to feel like that.

Shortly before the end I went up to that empty topmost gallery, and though I didn't see him I suddenly realized what he would have said.

It would have been much the same as he wrote to me after the very first demonstration of pledge signatories in the Albert Hall in July, 1935:—

I think it was a really fine meeting with a fine spirit. We ought now to get ahead.

the message of the Prince of Peace strove to live up to that message, peace would be here.

If you want to erect a real memorial to Dick Sheppard stand with him now, stand beside him now, and say that for you—never again; that your "No" means "No." Accept the challenge of Dick Sheppard—accept it in the letter and the spirit.

Dick Sheppard's spell was defined as "deep-seated natural human sympathy," by Lord Ponsonby, who told the audience:

When he said to me a few years ago, "You are right, there can be no half-way house on the question of peace and war," and then turned his attention to his fellow Christians, I knew well he would, as he did, open the door to us who were not professing Christians but had come unalterably to the same conclusion as he had.

More recently, to my inquiry as to how he was getting on in converting the leaders of the Church, he asked with a disarming smile how I was getting on in converting the leaders of the Labour Party!

His inspiration has not left us. His spiritual influence seems to be strengthening us further in our purpose and in our determination.

"A SAINT"

"We all of us feel that the real note of this meeting was struck in that silence," said Canon Stuart Morris, referring to the silence during which the thousands present had stood to

give thanks for the life and work of Dick Sheppard. "Any thought of gathering together to pay him tribute is altogether foreign to the man himself," he added.

"Surely this gathering will be a piece of sentimentalism or worse, of hypocrisy, unless it means that our presence is going to steel us into a new resolve."

The reality of the meeting would be seen in the days ahead, said Canon Morris, who continued:

I should be false to him, false to you, and false to myself if I did not emphasize the

THOUGH the December 25 issue of PEACE NEWS will be published and delivered a day earlier than usual (sellers please note), it will be too late for a special Christmas "push," and so **NEXT WEEK'S** issue (December 18) will be our

Christmas Number to which **WALTER GREENWOOD** (author of *Love on the Dole*) will contribute a short story which **ARTHUR WRAGG** will illustrate.

PLEASE ORDER AT ONCE.

fact that at the heart of his secret lay his belief in God. That was why he was a saint.

For it is the mark of sainthood to make it easier for other people to believe in God. At least one thing he did for all of us and that was to make God more real to us.

We certainly have it within us to be his greatest memorial. That is the responsibility which we are taking upon ourselves tonight.

But we have to see to it that we keep faith with him—a faith that means that henceforth more than ever every one of us is in the witness box.

"The power which has gathered us here is love," said **Max Plowman**, who earlier had read three passages of prose and verse. "Love is of two orders—human and divine," he said, and went on:

Human love depends upon divine love in order to be eternally renewed. For human love, left to itself, is possessive.

Therefore, in order that human love may not turn deathwards, the wisdom of God (which is love indeed) ordains that the loved man should be taken from our earthly and possessive clutch, in order that our human love may be transformed into the love which is divine—of which St. Paul says that it seeketh not its own. . . . Let us be sure that, in our love for Dick, we seek not our own.

Peace Pledge Union

That Christmas Spirit

From Our Own Correspondents

Last Saturday forty pacifists clad in posters walked round **Walthamstow** in a snow storm and after an hour's work some anxiety was felt in case they should be mistaken for forty Father Christmases headed for some local store!

Thomas Southall visited **Walthamstow** on Sunday and spoke on "Defending Democracy." His address was preceded by a play—*The Pen is Mightier*.

A NEW BODY

At the first meeting of the **Midlands Area Committee** emphasis was laid on work the body must do in helping small groups.

The meeting decided to include in the committee the districts bounded by **Stafford** on the west, **Newark** on the north, **Peterborough** on the east, and **Northampton** on the south. It is hoped that all groups, however small, even if unable to send delegates to the committee, will notify the secretary of their wish to be recognized as part of the area so that a helping hand may be extended to them in every possible way. Group leaders requiring information and help should apply to the Secretary, Main Road, **Caston-on-the-Hill**, **Stamford**.

The **Uxbridge Region** is holding fortnightly open-air meetings opposite the **Uxbridge War Memorial**, each meeting being preceded by a poster parade. All speakers at the last meeting were group members in the region. The next meeting in the series is being held today.

At an inaugural meeting at **Peckham** a committee was formed which is now working out details of organization, and planning future activities.

MEMORIAL BOOKLET

Copies of the **Dick Sheppard** memorial booklet on sale at the **Albert Hall** on Saturday are available from the **Peace Pledge Union**, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. Those receiving them are asked to give what they can to the memorial fund. The P.P.U. particularly asks that when sending the proceeds from these booklets, group leaders should state from how many booklets the sum forwarded has been obtained.

There are also available, for free distribution, copies of the programme used on Saturday: send postage.

WE CAN'T BE "TOO POLITICAL"

SOMEBODY appears to have suggested that the P.P.U. is becoming "too political." I am not sure that I quite understand what this means.

Perhaps the individual in question is one of those who consider that we should concentrate our attention on self-improvement. Admirable as many of the suggestions for training in what is called the technique of non-resistance may be, I am reluctant to return to the controversy on that subject which was constantly discussed in the pages of PEACE NEWS in earlier days.

It is sufficient to say that the P.P.U., far from discouraging, has welcomed all suggestions made for personal disciplinary training. It has not imposed this method on its members but has left it to the free choice of groups or individual members whose inclination it is to strengthen themselves by these means.

I am not sure, however, that a division of opinion on the subject has not raised controversy in some of our groups.

I WOULD only repeat what I have said so often: if I thought our faulty natures, our selfish lack of altruism, our combative spirit, or our unrestrained passions were the root causes of international war, I should feel so colossal a task as the purification and fortification of human nature was quite beyond the power of any organization which has yet been devised, and I would withdraw from any propaganda on these lines.

But let me try and reply to the specific charge that we are becoming "too political."

I cannot help thinking that such a charge can only come from someone who has very old-fashioned ideas about politics, rather contemptuously considering that it is only the concern of party politicians and members of Parliament, who wrangle and dispute over the Bills, resolutions, acts of administration, or lines of public policy which may divide them.

But this is a more misleading assumption than ever it was.

POLITICS today is the close and immediate concern of every adult citizen. Whether he or she is sufficiently aware of it or not,

Reading was Interested

From Our Own Correspondent

"Geneva at Reading" was the title of the exhibition held in the large Town Hall last week and organized by the Reading branch of the League of Nations Union. It is estimated that 1,200 people attended.

The **Peace Pledge Union** was in charge of the "armaments court," which contained:

"Disarm the Air" photographs, supplied by the Women's Peace Crusade;

A huge poster illustrating the alternative use of the money spent on armaments on the lines of **Ruth Fry's** pamphlet *State House-keeping*;

A poster showing how Reading's contribution to rearmament might be otherwise spent;

Photographs of the work of the I.V.S.P.; A pair of scales weighing "armaments" against "social services";

Priced food, showing the increase in cost due to armaments;

A metronome ticking the seconds away when £10 is spent on arms and 1d. on the League.

Pamphlets were sold and many inquiries about the P.P.U. made.

says LORD PONSONBY

politics reaches into every aspect of life.

It is not a specialized occupation for selected people shut off in a compartment by itself. It concerns trade and business; it concerns food and shelter; it concerns the home and the children; it concerns education, religion, art, locomotion; it concerns empire; and most of all it concerns our foreign relations and the issue of peace or war on which all else is dependent.

It is by public policy that international relations can be improved or endangered. Argument, discussion and persuasion, not confined to Westminster but carried on in homes or humble meetings, are indispensable outlets for the energies of a self-conscious and progressive democracy.

"Too political!" we cannot be. It is the government, the alternative government, prominent persons, the leading workers, the preachers, and the press we want to persuade, as also the people themselves.

THE issue of peace and war immediately affects the most intimate recesses of every home, not only the fortunes but the very lives of every man, woman, and child.

Every ounce of energy devoted to exposing, explaining, clarifying, debating, and discussing the political aspects of this overshadowing issue is well spent.

Those of us entrusted with the duty of addressing audiences may base our appeal on religious grounds, on humanitarian grounds, on rational grounds, or on tracing the tangled course of diplomacy. The greater the variety the better.

But let no-one think that an avoidance, or I would call it a shirking, of the political issues involved is going to make their appeal more effective.

Our particular doctrine cuts across recognized parties. But that does not mean that consequently it is not political. Refusal to support war is a political attitude, disarmament by example is a political policy, rejection of rearmament is a political protest.

LET us remember, too, that we are ordinary people, just like those with whom we disagree.

If we were transformed into superior people with a higher ethical standard, with generous pity for those who had not reached our level and tainted, as we inevitably should be, with self-righteousness, no-one would listen to us. We must not construct pedestals for ourselves.

That superior attitude was what **Dick Sheppard** hated most. Let us get down among the throng and reason with them. When they see we are just like themselves they will all the more readily listen.

If I were asked why the churches have failed, I would say that it was largely due, metaphorically speaking, to the fact that there are always steps up into the pulpit; and also perhaps to the assurance made by many of them that "politics is not their concern" (although this has not prevented some of them from being strong party politicians).

Arthur Ponsonby

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IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE UNIVERSAL DISARMAMENT

Pacifist Winner of World Prize Points the Way

HOW can the people of the world achieve universal disarmament?

This question, put to entrants in the New History Society's world essay competition, has brought from the winner of the world prize, Mme. Catherina Lydia de Ligt-van Rossem, an answer that will be of great interest to pacifists everywhere, especially as she herself is a pacifist and the wife of

the Dutch peace movement's leader. Mme. de Ligt-van Rossem dealt first with the interdependence of the individual and society.

Then she outlined the psychological, social, economic, political, and cultural conditions for disarmament. Extracts from this portion of her essay are given below. Next week we hope to publish in full the final section, headed "Practical measures relative to disarmament."

PSYCHOLOGICAL CONDITIONS
The most urgent is to *disintoxicate ourselves of violence*. We are in need of a sort of *mental and moral hygiene*.

While creating around us an atmosphere of harmony and understanding, we must at the same time strive to canalize and sublimate the instincts of strife, through the satisfying of the moral needs, such as devotion, the desire for self-sacrifice, the want for cooperation, to which war makes appeal, and the bringing of them to a higher level, by diverse means, such as sport, youth groups, the Scout movement, competitions, artistic and scientific efforts, social and humanitarian services.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS
It is not war only that will be opposed in such a struggle for the new humanity; rather *all forms of violence* among men, even including those of which we are barely conscious, will be dealt with.

This struggle implies the liberation of colonies, the emancipation of women, the free education of youth, the eradication of lynching, the abolition of capital punishment, the re-education of criminals, and the safeguarding of animals to the extent of antivivisectionism and to the point of vegetarianism.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
Disarmament implies a *reconstruction of economic life* based on solidarity and collaboration instead of an exploitation and rivalry: a world system of production and consumption according to methods of co-operation and self-government.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS
(a) The confederation of all the nations of the world.
(b) The elimination of frontiers, in the sense that they will no longer constitute economic, political, or cultural barriers, or continue to exist in so far as they have an ethnological and natural significance.
(c) The internationalization of harbours, rivers, canals, lakes, seas, straits, and of all traffic.
(d) The abolition of secret diplomacy.
(e) Universal disarmament — (according to the proposition of Litvinoff).
(f) The settlement of international

strife according to the methods of arbitration.

(g) The conducting of national and international politics in view of the interests of the world community.

(h) The adoption of a universal auxiliary language (either Esperanto or basic English).

CULTURAL CONDITIONS
Actually a course of spiritual gymnastics is required if we are

to free ourselves of our egocentricities; to enlarge our horizons; and to realize the extent to which we have the tendency of imprisoning ourselves in restricted sentiments and ideas, and of bringing everything down to the point, if not of our individual interests—then to the interests of "our" family, "our" country, "our" class, "our" race, "our" political party, "our" religion, and of subordinating all things to this ideology.

At this epoch of the "nationalization of consciences," a veritable *demilitarization of the spirit* is essential, and this implies demilitarization of education, of instruction, of religion, of the press, of science, of law, of art, of philosophy.

"Peace Business Has Gone too Far"!

AN hour's heated discussion followed a proposal at a meeting of the Canterbury (New Zealand) Education Board to withdraw permission previously given to the World Peace League to distribute literature to schools.

"This peace business has gone too far," the mover said. "We must not let these peace people contaminate our children." The proposal was defeated.

"All I asked for," a World Peace League representative told PEACE NEWS, "was the right to circularize teachers. I mentioned that I would include matter in connexion with our own League and the Peace Pledge Union."

POLICIES FOR YOUTH

"All youth against all war" was the title of a recent two-day conference attended by 160 young people in New York. "A call to pacifist youth" which resulted from their discussions contained the following "policies upon which all pacifists agree":—

1. Disarmament and opposition to militarism as the concrete expression of our repudiation of the theory of national defence by armed preparedness.
2. We demand that American troops be immediately withdrawn from the Far East, since their purpose there can only be the creation of incidents which will involve us in war with Japan.
3. We advocate the immediate repeal of the Japanese Exclusion Act, realizing its psychological effect on Japan as one cause for the present Chinese war.
4. We affirm our opposition to imperialism and advocate freedom for colonial peoples.
5. We recognize the need for racial reconciliation, realizing that it is hypocrisy to talk about the evils of other nations while doing nothing to bring justice to our own minority groups.

DICK SHEPPARD'S SECRET

"DICK SHEPPARD'S secret, I think, was in the way that he transcended all the titles and honours which to lesser men become millstones about the neck, and became plain Dick Sheppard." So said Miss Tracy D. Mygatt in Monday's issue of *Unity*. She continued:

I love to think of that photograph of him, published in his PEACE NEWS (that irresistible pacifist sheet that we here can only envy). He is standing in the rain, umbrellaless. Dick Sheppard has more important things to think of than weather! For across his back and front is a placard of disarmament and war resistance. Quite simply and humbly he is making of his own frail body the means to carry the advertisement of the message in which he believed to the roots of his being.

In France, too, pacifists feel the loss of a great leader, and in a tribute in *Le Barrage*, weekly newspaper of the *Ligue Internationale des Combattants pour la Paix* (League of Fighters for Peace), Camille Drevet said:

Dick Sheppard was an absolute Christian, one who had chosen between Christ and war. His faith was a great force. His secret was sympathy, power of understanding, and love.

For us French pacifists, the faith and activities of Dick Sheppard, who was a true friend of the L.I.C.P., and of *Le Barrage*, were a magnificent example and a great comfort.

More War Resisters in Finland

Special to PEACE NEWS

THE *War Resister*, quarterly bulletin of the War Resisters' International, is printed regularly in French, German, English, and Esperanto and is duplicated in Russian.

It is now being published in Finnish, the entire work of translating, printing, and distribution being undertaken by the enthusiastic leader of the Finnish War Resisters' Movement. The whole paper is printed on his own hand-made press machine and 2,000 copies of each issue are produced which reach 74 towns in Finland.

Finland has conscription, but a few years ago alternative civil service was made legal. In November permission was given to fifteen war resisters to do alternative service instead of military training. Every month the number of men refusing military service increases.

Tauno Tapaneinen, although only thirty years old, has been released from prison after serving his sixth sentence for refusal of military training. The W.R.I. group printed and distributed 20,000 leaflets calling for his release.

Canadians Vote for Ending Imperialism

The first Liberal victory in Victoria, British Columbia, for thirty years was hailed as a mandate for Canada's new "peace-by-trade" policy. Mr. Mackenzie King, the Premier, said last week that it meant that "So far as our country is concerned the days of economic nationalism and economic imperialism are past."

NOTES FROM MEMBERS—3

Why I Invest

IN THE

St. Pancras Building Society

By a Parent

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To End Indifference

From Our Own Correspondent

The average Irishman tends to live in the past. To him the last war is the war between England and Ireland, and the present economic war is of more importance than world events. Most of those who consider international affairs at all support Britain's rearmament.

The All-Ireland Anti-War Crusade has an ambitious winter programme to overcome this indifference. Plans are in operation for selling PEACE NEWS and holding public meetings.

Among other schemes is one for a Peace Room, where newspapers, pamphlets, and books can be read and purchased. The secretary is Mr. Stanley McC. Halliday, 58a Harcourt Street, Dublin.

Headquarters' Notes

By MAX FLOWMAN

"H. R. L. SHEPPARD—A Note in Appreciation" is an anonymous book of some eighty-seven pages and may be obtained from our book-stall at 96 Regent Street, London, W.1 for the sum of one shilling (post free 1s. 2d.). I believe Cobden-Sanderson, the publishers, are also issuing an edition bound in cloth at 2s. 6d. Here is the first attempt at portraiture that has been made since Dr. Sheppard died, and as a slow and painful writer I am still wondering at the concentration and energy which could have produced such a book at such short notice. At present I have only found time to dip into it; but while I decline to attempt a considered judgment of it, if it is not the fine thing I believe it to be, I must have been lucky in my dips. Often enough, the fairest way of noticing a book is to quote from it. Here then is a paragraph.

"There must have been always in the forefront of Sheppard's vision this atonement, this fundamental unity of mankind, which makes the exalting of one man above his fellows part of the illusion of separateness and therefore a falsehood. It may have been for this reason that he was able to avoid using his own position as most men would use it; he saw that to use it to set himself above others was to deny the oneness of mankind. We share each other's joys as well as each other's distresses, and are inseparably dependent one on another. This sense of oneness, which is only another aspect of his sense of love, Sheppard was able to communicate with those who came in contact with him. His hospitality was a small instance of it; those who found themselves together under his roof found themselves together in a deeper sense. He united the meetings and congregations he addressed in a similar way, as he impelled those who had quarrelled to be united. Once more, his realization in himself of atonement was creative; it reproduced itself whenever he made contact with others."

That, I think, is enough to show that this writer's appreciation is deep and penetrative and no mere formal and superficial laudation. This sense of the "fundamental unity of mankind" was indeed Dick's great distinction. What is a banality on the lips of most men was a living and working reality for him. He felt his human kinship, and for this reason, and this alone, every man who knew him was his friend. It was a working reality in the sense that it worked like leaven in any and every form of society into which he entered, whether it was in personal converse, or the company on a railway journey, or the knitting together in friendship of all the workers at Headquarters, or the galvanizing into unity of a committee, or the drawing together in worship of those who only heard his voice through the microphone. Dick was the most equalizing person in the world because he never laid claim to equality and considered it his function to bring the sunshine out of other people rather than to confer it in the painful and all too parsonical fashion we all dislike so heartily.

I am delighted to see this author insisting upon Dick's ordinariness. He was a man, and not all the adulation in the world ever turned him into a figure. Some people would have liked

The Notice Board

London bank clerks, either sex, who can support P.P.U. speaker in E.C.2 area, 6 p.m., December 16, please communicate with City group (phone City 5149).

Volunteers are required for poster parades every Saturday. Meet at the P.P.U. offices, 96 Regent Street, at 6.45 p.m.

Points for Speakers: Will group leaders who would find a referenced and classified table of contents useful write to Walter Griffith, 3b Grosvenor Hill, Wimbledon, S.W.19? If response is adequate preparation will be started at once. Distribution will be free and table will be brought up to date periodically.

West Norwood group will meet on Mondays, at 8 p.m., in Roupell Park Methodist Church, unless room is not available owing to previous arrangements.

Three Members write on

A DRAMA GROUP

COMMENTING on the valuable service done by the London Pax Players, a writer in last week's issue of PEACE NEWS added:—"Many people who would not think of attending a peace meeting readily attend such performances. The value of such services cannot be measured."

It is suggested that an extension of this kind of activity in the Peace Pledge Union would be helpful, and members living near London who would be able to meet at Regent Street after office hours (and who should preferably have had some experience in acting, production, stage-management, or executive work) are invited to communicate with the undersigned, in order that a meeting may be arranged.

The election of a committee and the running of the Drama Group would be on democratic lines, and performances, which would be rehearsed at Headquarters, could be offered to any group within reach, who might be asked to contribute travelling expenses.

Perhaps a programme of three one-act plays could be produced early in the new year, and we have even thought of a three-act open-air production for the P.P.U. Camp next year!

What do you think of this idea? And, more important, what would you be able to do about it?

JOHN BARCLAY.
R. H. WARD.
ROY WALKER.

Communications: — "Drama Group," P.P.U., 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

—and other Members discuss

A LONDON DANCE

The dance held by the Streatham group on November 27 was a great success, giving the group a clear profit of over £6.

We feel strongly that it would be both good publicity and also lucrative if early next year all groups in the London area were jointly to hold a dance at some well-known hall in Central London. Whilst I understand that Headquarters haven't the time to undertake the arrangements, Mr. Barclay assures me that it would have their blessing (and indeed his own attendance!) if the groups could get together and make their own arrangements.

If any groups are interested in this idea and write to me at my address, the Streatham group would be pleased to arrange for a joint meeting of representatives from these groups when the matter could be gone into in detail.

(Mrs.) B. I. BRIAR.

100 Pretoria Road, London, S.W.16.

him to uphold their shaky sense of personal dignity by becoming an outstanding figure. It was an honour he declined with thanks. And I am particularly and peculiarly grateful to him for this; for it so happens that a friend who had recently become a pacifist once said to me: "I am a pacifist just because I am an ordinary man." And that reminds me. It was almost a physical impossibility to know Dr. Sheppard without very speedily knowing him as "Dick." I felt ashamed at my own presumption in this until it occurred to me that no man I had ever known before so richly merited his Christian name.

GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

ALBERT HALL.—The Dick Sheppard Memorial Fund made a good beginning last Saturday night in the Albert Hall, London. In spite of wet, cold, and snow, 6,000 people turned up from all parts of the country. I spoke to members from as far away as Cornwall, Manchester, Liverpool, Wales, and Scotland, as well as to visitors from South Africa, Canada, India, Germany, and France—surely a representative audience drawn together to pay homage to Dick Sheppard and to get the inspiration which comes from realizing that what is felt by one is shared by thousands of others.

The decorations committee had worked so well that it came as a shock to many to see what could be done to transform a Victorian mausoleum into a dignified meeting place. The beautifully arranged flowers and the banners suspended on both sides of the organ, and finally the great banner stretching right across the hall with the message, "If we let him bear too great a share of the load, we repent. We cannot fail him now." Then there was the choir got together from all parts of London by Miss Gill, under the direction of Miss Iris Lemaire, who, with only one rehearsal, did so much to make the evening a success.

Stewarding for such a place is always difficult, as the space to be covered is so great, and the endless passages make the Hampton Court Maze seem child's play. But here again we were well served. I asked for 150 volunteers and found 185 waiting to act. Between them they collected £491 in boxes and £1,600 in promises. The final procession of stewards with their boxes down the main gangway to the platform proved that even pacifists can stage a parade so dear to the heart of the army.

What then were the results and the hopes engendered by such an effort? First, the register of a vow by the P.P.U., representing a great and growing public opinion, that they have no faith in armaments as a way to peace. Second, that they realize how much they owe to Dick Sheppard, their founder, but have accepted the challenge made by his death and are prepared to shoulder the burden. Third, that they are prepared to prove this by the sacrifice of money, time, and energy without stint, and further, as a reminder to others, started the fund by giving a total of £4,850 there and then.

Christmas will see no slackening of the war preparations. Munition factories will pour out their devilish goods, whilst those mental homes already filled with war-shattered minds will have to be replanned to house the next victims. The War Office will be thinking out new ways of attracting unemployed men into the army and no-one will be too cheerful or hopeful. Into such an atmosphere we of the P.P.U. should come with renewed vigour, declaring that war is not inevitable and translating the message of good will into terms of personal service and personal renunciation of the war idea. My hope is that over Christmas our groups will see to it that far from taking a breather they find the holiday a time of increased opportunity.

"East is East and West is West"

... and the Twain SHALL Meet

From Our Own Correspondent

THE University of Leeds is one of those which have a considerable number of students from overseas, mainly to study textiles and engineering.

Only five miles away is the Horsforth branch of the P.P.U., whose members have just held a successful "East and West" social, giving these students an opportunity of mixing with representative English people—an opportunity often denied them by prejudice which leads to race discrimination.

The Rev. P. D. Robins, Chairman of Leeds P.P.U., and his wife acted as host and hostess, the guests being 35 students from India, Egypt, Poland, Turkey, Sudan, West Indies, Argentine, and New Zealand.

In a brief address of welcome to the guests Mr. Robins mentioned that when he was a cross-channel air pilot, he realized how very often the barriers men had set up between themselves were artificial.

All the present international problems could be solved if only men would take to heart the lesson of the "East and West Social," that fundamentally we are one.

Differences of race, colour, religion, or speech were certainly no barrier during the evening of "non-stop" amusement; the more serious work of quiet chats and contacts between pacifists and their guests sometimes resulting in arrangements for future visits to P.P.U. homes.

"NO" IS NOT ENOUGH

From Our Own Correspondent

"The picture of brave men courageously placing their bodies between the enemy and their own women and children is no longer true of modern war."

So said Eric Gill, the famous sculptor, at the first public meeting held by the Chalfont St. Peter group. Modern war, he went on, was war against the civilian population.

War's causes, real and ostensible, had also changed. We must look for financial and economic roots beneath all modern wars.

Putting forward the P.P.U. attitude, Mr. Gill said he was convinced that while the stand against war was essential, it was not enough—we must strive to remove the profit motive from industry and economic life.

THE CHALLENGE OF POSITIVE PACIFISM

being verbatim reports of speeches at the

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Greatest Revolution in the World

From Our Own Correspondent

THE abolition of war will be the greatest revolution the world has ever seen," said Laurence Housman at a meeting in Macclesfield last week—one of a series of demonstrations organized by Manchester District Council of the Peace Pledge Union.

"This spiritual and moral revolution involves a change of heart, mind, and technique," Mr. Housman continued.

The Powers were divided, as a result of conquest, into the rich and the poor, and this was reflected in the social system. Competition and rivalry were guiding motives.

The peace movement had to be constructive against these evils. D. H. Lawrence had written: "I feel as if very soon there will be a great wave of generosity in the world—or a great wave of death."

INTERNATIONAL MUDDLE

"We live in an international mess," Mr. Housman went on. "The reason is that nineteen years ago we sought violence as a remedy." We had made a bad peace. The nation which was brought to the dust was now the most feared. Would any future war have any better results?

"Are we willing again to send our young men to this devil's gamble and destruction?" he asked.

If at Versailles we had made a peace of reconciliation, not of vengeance, we might have paved the way for better understanding. Even now would not a world conference be useful? We might then own failure and listen to counsels of peace.

Mr. Housman showed how war forced us to use the same weapons as the enemy.

Mr. Baldwin had asserted that ever since the war ended we had striven to heal the wounds caused by it. But the first thing we did after "victory" was to impose a blockade which kept Germany a starved nation.

THE DEVIL'S WORK

"Germany remembers this, but we do not," pointed out Laurence Housman.

Mr. Baldwin had also declared that we did not interfere with domestic matters in other countries. But we financially supported the civil war in Russia, though we now criticized others doing similar things in Spain.

When we occupied German territory and the English "Tom-mies" saw the starving children, they shared rations with them. They did the wise thing. We, as a nation, did the foolish thing.

Thus the war mind blundered, and found too late that it had done the wrong thing.

Last spring Lord Halifax spoke, ironically enough, in the very pulpit in St. Martin-in-the-Fields from which Canon Sheppard had preached absolute pacifism. Lord Halifax said that war was the devil's work, but that the necessity for war remained. He said it was our bounden duty to do everything possible to get rid of war.

"No nation," said Mr. Housman, "has so far done everything possible to get rid of war." We have shown little generosity or sacrifice—we are



Drawn by A. E. EXLEY

"Hallo, you're all dressed up—coming to the dance?"
The Shade: "I went—twenty years ago"

"Poppy Clerks" Thanks

THOUGH they have not yet obtained other work, the two men who (as exclusively reported in PEACE NEWS on November 20) were given a month's notice by their employer for wearing white (peace) poppies on Armistice Day, wish to thank all who, through PEACE NEWS and in other ways, have expressed their sympathy and support and have offered to help.

not willing to get rid of war. We show a preference for the devil's work."

We needed generosity and sacrifice if civilization was to be saved from destruction.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

"The peace movement stands for active good will, and active and heroic self-sacrifice." "Do unto others" remained the law of human nature and this law was waiting to be applied.

"Can we give the world some great symbolic object lesson?" asked Mr. Housman, and then suggested we should take men out of the army and train them for constructive social work without a market return.

Wherever there was distress and destruction they could help in reconstruction and alleviation of suffering. In such cases as earthquakes, floods, and other devastation, we might send out this trained peace army of service. Any nation would be safer with such an army, and it might well set light to a candle which would shed a light over the whole world and which would never be put out.

The other speaker at the meeting was Douglas Owen, and the chair was taken by Mrs. Russell Brayshaw.

FIRST NIGHTS of new London shows

THANK YOU, MR. PEPYS.

FUNDAMENTALLY, a jingo play with a small j. Samuel Pepys lays the foundations of the British Navy. The Merry Monarch expresses his gratitude. Armaments and patriotism are assumed to be indissoluble. Boys and girls will be taken to this during the Christmas holidays and affected accordingly. Edmund Gwenn makes his come-back.

RUTH DRAPER. Vaudeville. Better when she makes you laugh than when she makes you cry. But a genius in any case. It's only when you've seen her ten times that you become critical.

HABIMA PLAYERS. Savoy. There's still time to see them, but this week is the last. So if you don't hurry up, you will miss a real event.

Music Notes

"THESE THINGS SHALL BE"

IN the Queen's Hall, London, on Wednesday of last week, before a large audience which included the Queen, the programme contained the first concert performance of a fine setting by John Ireland of John Addington Symonds' inspiring poem *These Things Shall Be*.

One could sense that the audience was moved, not only by the music, but by the words and by the aspiration behind them. The composer evidently places particular importance on the lines:

Nation with nation, land with land
Inarmed shall live as comrades free;
In every brain and heart shall throb
The pulse of one fraternity.

for it was at this point that the solo baritone (Mr. Dennis Noble) made, with great effect, his sole contribution to the work. The *pianissimo* repetition by the chorus of the line, "What will the future bring?" was also most impressive, followed as it was by the superb confidence of the words: "These things—they are no dream—shall be."

The programme as a whole provided further evidence that there is a new seriousness in the outlook of our artists.

BERNARD SMITH.

A.R.P. WARDENS

From Our Own Correspondent

"Air Raid Wardens" should not be appointed from among those who volunteer, but elected by popular vote.

This was the view taken by the Battersea Peace Council, representing some thousands of organized residents, at its meeting last Friday. Other points of the resolution were:

That underground concrete shelters should be built on a major scale, expenditure on these preceding expenditure on aggressive armaments;

That plans for mass evacuation from London should be worked out at once; and

That the entire cost of air-raid precautions should be borne by the State.

Copies of this resolution were forwarded to the Battersea Borough Council and to the Trades and Labour Council for the Borough.

"The Conference I Advocate"

This is the title given to part of George Lansbury's speech in Kingsway Hall, London, on Armistice night, reprinted in the December number of *Reconciliation* (obtainable from The Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1, price 3d.). Other contents include the text of an address broadcast in the U.S.A. by J. Nevin Sayre on "An Economic Boycott of Japan."

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

December 11, 1937

PACIFISM AND THE CHILD

IN his Commentary last week Mr. Murry, in answering the objections of an anonymous opponent of pacifism, was in the course of his argument driven into what appeared to be rather a tight corner. Whereupon he did something which I believe to be symbolic, and therefore of meaning to us all. He had conceded to the objector his right to demand of the pacifist the surrender of every material good, and even life itself, for the sake of the principle of non-resistance to evil, until he came to the children. There he refused to budge; so that on purely logical grounds, the argument went to his opponent. Then Murry went on to justify his refusal to abandon his children, on the ground that our understanding of the best exponent of non-resistance was either imaginative or nonsensical, and that Jesus, having audaciously set a child in the midst as the perfect example to his followers, was not such a hopeless casuist as to make child-abandonment the test of discipleship.

To me the interest of this thorough-going examination of the pacifist case lies in its strange conclusion. For the conclusion I discover, or think I do, is that so far from the abandonment of children being a corollary of absolute pacifism, the tables are turned at the point where the argument shifts from the rational to the human and imaginative. In other words, the key to the pacifist search for a dynamic lies in the acceptance of the fact that while all else may be abandoned for righteousness' sake, and nothing else is to be defended, what the pacifist is called upon to stand and defend is the child.

Of course I use the word "defend" here not in the sense that it is our duty to provide children with gas masks and dug-outs, because nothing can defend children, or any living thing for that matter, against the instruments of modern warfare—least of all war superimposed upon war in the shape of reprisals. What I mean by defending the child is accepting the entire responsibility for its care and maintenance, and advocating the total abandonment of war by every sane person, chiefly in defence of the children of every country—in defence of international childhood.

The pacifist case for the care, instead of the abandonment of children is very like the case for the renunciation of war. Nowadays the pacifist understands the contradictions implicit

in his resistance to war. He is not unaware either of his responsibility to society, nor of the fact that he is himself a part of a corrupt organization; nor is he ignorant of the deep-rooted causes of war as they exist both in himself and in the economic and political systems of government which obtain. But the pacifist realizes that unless a point of resistance is found to the modern drift to war, into "inevitable" war we all shall go. It is because he realizes this that he exercises his conscious conviction upon that over which he admittedly has power, namely himself. In a world that cannot find a point of resistance to war, he offers himself as that point, and in so doing shows us how and where the old order can come to an end, and the point at which the new order must begin.

So, in the matter of the children, the pacifist, accepting for himself apparent insecurity as the key to real security, is driven to the point at which he is logically invited to abandon his offspring for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake. At that point he declares that the child is the epitome of the Kingdom and that therefore the child is the one thing in the material world which he will under no conditions forsake, but for whose peace and safety and well-being he will contend, not with the weapons of violence, but with all the acts of social life. For where the Kingdom begins, there, it seems, the pacifist must begin his creative work of reconstruction. The child is the focal point of the new creative order. The new commandment becomes: take care of the children and mankind will take care of itself. That is the meaning of setting a child in the midst. And the instruction is not abstruse, for clearly every society is dependent for its future growth and maintenance upon its children.

The contradictions are resolved: the synthesis between them is discovered, only if we rise above rational argument and trust ourselves in the dark to our simple humanity; for just as we, who know that war is utterly wrong, are thereby prevented from taking an active part in it, so we, who believe in mortal life, know by an instinct that is confirmed in its appeal to conscience, that the care and not the abandonment of children is the real way to a creative and pacific society.

The children of the world are the only international life that is left. The children are now the only target which even the most barbarous militarist is ashamed to fire at. The children represent the future; and life cannot continue without regard for the future. The children are those whom the Christian religion calls upon us to care for without regard to class, creed or nationality. The children are those who are stood before us as examples of the kind of thing we have all to become before we can realize the human society and true civilization we desire.

So it occurs to me: Why should not the Peace Pledge Union take over for its social service the maintenance and the welfare of the children? Please do not misunderstand me. I am speaking in general terms. Care for children—any social service—can only be half our work. We are—and most resolutely intend to remain—a war-resistant society. No more war, at any price, is the first attestation of any pacifist's faith. But quite as definitely, we are more than merely war-resisters. Our deep desire is to be the creative seed of the new

society in which Peace will not only be possible but natural. Therefore the building of that society demands our active attention here and now. Already we must begin to do its work for we shall not stand in the day of sifting—we shall not present our true appearance to the world unless we can show that instead of the soldier's willingness to sacrifice for war we can show a pacifist's willingness to sacrifice for peace. To prove that we have that willingness we need something obvious to point to. I suggest that it is possible to make the care for children, and the practical effort to get rid of war on their behalf, our obvious work for peace.

In this connection, perhaps I may be permitted to say that among the countless people Dick Sheppard was personally concerned for were his own children. I will even go so far as to say that he has recently been misunderstood on this account. For Dick did for them what he never did for himself—he saved money for them. In respect of everybody else, he spent it like water. The Peace Pledge Union alone cost him at least a thousand a year; and only God knows what he gave away privately, for Dick never let his right hand know what his left hand did. But, for his children he saved the whole of the money that was given him when he was a very sick man and unable to fend for himself. And except for £700 which comes to the P.P.U. and a small legacy to his Secretary, all Dick's savings will go to his children.

Those savings were larger than he himself knew when death came to him with such tragic suddenness. I claim to be like Dick in one thing. I have never been able to give much time or inclination to the study of my own personal possessions. Frankly I could not tell you today whether I am worth five, ten or fifteen thousand pounds. I find that I have always had an instinctive resistance to inherited money. Even while I have been terribly grateful for it, I have never known what to do with it. "Give it away" is a counsel I have never been able to follow; for it is mine, and not mine, in a strangely distasteful way. Yet it has enabled me to live; and for that I am truly thankful. What it has never enabled me to do is to be careful and concerned about it. What it amounts to I neither know nor—in sober earnest—do I care; for sufficient unto the day is the worry of money. All the same, I have a son, and I trust to God there is a sufficiency somewhere in my sketchy financial world to start him; for there isn't a man of us who wants to leave his children wholly to the tender mercies of this world. Children we have it in our power to defend against cruelty and poverty, and I suggest that Dick perhaps felt this as keenly as any of us.

But what I want to suggest now is that we should give our best minds to the study of this question of the international care of children, and the making of a federation within all nations on their behalf. For that work for the defence of the international child, I believe we shall find the moral equivalent to the service which the soldier offers to his country.

What has happened at Basque House, Langham, is indicative and, I think, symbolic. There we have tried to make 60 refugee children happy for the past six months. We have at least saved them from some of the horrors of war. We took that step in the dark; and very glad I am we took it, for it is not out of our way. It is not irrelevant to our main duty. It's just the other side of the medal. On one side of this medal Peace is inscribed. On the other, Service. It is as servants of the human race in an age of race-suicide that we shall ultimately vindicate pacifism.

MAX PLOWMAN

PARS FOR THE PLATFORM

Alternatives

THESE three quotations from the press present, in a remarkable way, the "either-or" that faces the world today:

The Germans, as I have already said, have no intention of fighting if they can possibly help it. But, as Herr Hitler writes in *Mein Kampf*, they might have to fight if at any time Germany cannot feed her own people. That contingency might well arise if a depression came, and especially if it came before a serious effort had been made to satisfy her demand for economic elbow-room. (Sir Arthur Willert, *Sunday Express*, November 28.)

Herr Hitler's declared policy is to obtain the restitutions Germany desires by reasonable and peaceful methods. He has no taste, he has said, for military adventures, nor any illusions as to their cost. On the other hand, an attempt to keep Germany in a collective strait-jacket, on what is regarded here as a pretext that she cannot be trusted, would be fated, in the German view, to provoke an explosion. (Message from Berlin, November 25, in *The Times*.)

For the long view, I cannot be anything but optimistic as to American foreign trade. But there is something vastly more important in the world interchange of commodities than the interest of any particular nation. Unless means are provided whereby nations can procure the essentials of life for their people, war is the obvious alternative. A free interchange of essential commodities is the only firm foundation for peace. (Eliot Wadsworth, chairman, American Section, International Chamber of Commerce, speaking in October.)

Distress

THERE can be little doubt that the number of suicides gives a very real indication of the distress prevailing, both material and spiritual," writes a London (N.W.8) correspondent, referring to the figures given in this column, November 27, for Japan and this country. He adds:

The figures you gave may, I think, be better appreciated if they be stated thus:—For the years in question there was one suicide in Japan for approximately each 5,600 of the population, while in England and Wales there was one for each 7,800. In 1935 there was in Germany one suicide for approximately each 3,500 of the population, while in the Soviet Union for the same year there was one for each 12,900.

Of the 18,422 German suicides in 1935, 5,544 were women. The total, although 379 fewer than in 1934, was nearly 3,000 more than in 1913.

"Proof of Germany's distress is the number of suicides in our unhappy country," said Herr Hitler, before he came to power. *Nofrontier News Service* states:

Official German statistics show that last year 19,000 Germans committed suicide, and a very large percentage of these is between the ages of 15 and 25, when suicide is relatively scarce. The German rate of self-destruction is about three times higher than that of the United States.

Still Trying

MR. PITT hoped and trusted that war was now removed to a very distant day indeed; but the best way to prevent it was to put the country in such a posture of defence, as that it should have nothing to apprehend from war.

Thus the *Morning Post* reported a predecessor in Mr. Chamberlain's office on November 30, 1787. The *Morning Post* never lived to see that method succeed. Will you?

Prophet

AT a congress of the Russian Communist Party some years ago (according to Raymond Clapper, American political writer who recently visited Russia), when Trotsky was still War Commissar and one group was yelling for his execution, Stalin interrupted the debate and said:

No, we won't take blood, because once we begin taking blood there will be no end of it.

Contradictions

IN view of statements by air raid "precautions" instructors such as that by Captain Kennedy quoted in this column (November 27), we would draw the attention of readers to the official statement in the House of Commons by Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd, which denies that a special secret filter for the civilian respirator is held in reserve for actual use in emergencies, and that it is superior to that in the masks at present shown in displays.

In reply to a question as to whether the gas masks now on show at the Royal Horticultural Show are samples of those intended for distribution, Mr. Lloyd said, "The reply is in the affirmative so far as concerns the exhibit in the A.R.P. stand."

(House of Commons, March 11, 1937; column 1319, Hansard.)

(Concluded on page 11, column 4.)

A Weekly Commentary ON KNOWING THE FUTURE

By J. Middleton Murry

"WE know not yet what we shall be." That is one of the sentences by which I live.

It has been ratified, over and over again, in my personal experience; and, as I grow older, it appears to me that many of the deepest human troubles arise from the insistence on knowing what we shall be. We want to be secure: secure in body, secure in mind, secure of the future. It is a fundamental human appetite, and (if the word has meaning) a perfectly legitimate one. At the highest level it takes the form of the demand that the universe shall be a universe, and not a chaos: and some real satisfaction of that demand is necessary to the human mind. But under the influence of this appetite, this very demand takes the form that the universe shall be a rational universe. And then everything depends upon what we mean by rational. For most people it means calculable; and a rational universe is for them one in which they can foresee the consequences of their actions.

Yet, in fact, few men and fewer societies have ever been able to do this. For instance, what Englishman today would not have opposed the Treaty of Versailles, if he could have foreseen the consequences of it? A few able men, like Mr. J. M. Keynes, did foresee some of the consequences of it; but the ablest of these could not see very far. The twenty years of subsequent history have revealed that the most far-seeing opponents of that treaty were those who did not see very far. Those who felt that the treaty was a moral outrage, a base betrayal of the hosts of young men who had given up their lives "to end war," a naked and manifest evil which could not fail to bring its nemesis—were those who really foresaw the consequences of the treaty—because they did not pretend to foresee them.

So it is, and so it must ever be, with all the crucial actions of our lives. Calculation of the future may help us a little; but it can never help us very much. It is not that the universe is not calculable; but the calculus by which it can be calculated is not a rational one, at any rate in the common sense of the word "rational." The only sure guide we have is the moral instinct, or the conscience, of the individual man declaring to him that this is Good and that is Evil. Good and Evil—these are the categories by which we may control the future; not rational and irrational. For the categories of Good and Evil involve our acceptance of the fact that we control the future by not controlling it. In the words of the hymn,

"I do not ask to see
The distant scene. One step enough for me."

Heaven knows, and history reveals, that the categories of Good and Evil are double-edged. How many millions of innocent people have been done to death in the name of the Good! It is, in a sense, an unwitting and unholy tribute to the power of the Good, or at least to the prestige of the Good, that nation can be arrayed against nation only in its name. History makes it clear that the only safeguard

there is against this diabolical abuse of the categories of Good and Evil is the simple intuition that the Good consists in not requiting Evil with Evil. Without this salt to preserve it, the Good has been and will be again wholly corrupted.

So that, ultimately, the only guide we have in the crucial actions of our lives is the immediate moral instinct or spiritual intuition that we must follow the Good, and that the Good consists in not requiting Evil with Evil. This is the one way we have of securing the future; the only calculus by which we can calculate it. And, of course, in the rational sense it is not a calculus at all. But once a man has reached this position, he must never allow himself to be driven from it by rational considerations. If he begins to say to himself: "Now, what will happen if I follow, if society follows, the Good in this simple sense by not returning Evil for Evil? Obviously, the Evil, meeting with no resistance, will rage unchecked"—he is lost in a maze of disputation from which he can never emerge. The knowledge that the Good demands that we shall not return Evil for Evil is not an irrational knowledge, but it is not provable save to the imagination. I believe that no man can learn to read human history, or even his own life, and make sense of them by any other key. It is the knowledge born of experience.

But knowledge of this kind can never be demonstrated. It is impossible to *prove* that non-resistance to evil is the only way by which men can escape death. Because quite obviously it isn't, if by death we mean death of the body. Non-resistance to Evil patently involves a risk of physical death; and there can be no rational demonstration to oneself or anybody else that it is really worth while to risk death for the Good. (That is why it behoves pacifists to sympathize with soldiers: they belong to somewhat the same tribe.) The Good is a queer thing; one of its qualities is that in apprehending it the individual understands that it is worth risking his life for.

But once we have apprehended it in this simple way, and discovered at the same moment that the Good is that we should not return Evil for Evil, and that we must be prepared to risk our lives in obedience to it, we discover that it is possible that the sacrifice may not be required of us. As Hamlet said, "The readiness is all." For that readiness liberates us: our mind and our being are set free. Imagination can work now; and by its light we see that unbelievable things might happen if there were a body of a million men and women who were thus "ready." An incalculable power of Good would then be liberated to work upon the world.

Nor does it matter to the world, or to me, how men attain that readiness. The readiness itself really is all. The fact that I could not have achieved it, and certainly could not maintain it, were I not a Christian, is just an idiosyncrasy—which some will find laudable, others lamentable. But these latter, if they are ready, will be eager to rejoice over me as I rejoice over them.

Recent Publications

LIFE IN GERMANY TODAY

THE HOUSE THAT HITLER BUILT. Stephen H. Roberts. Methuen. 12s. 6d.

Reviewed by ROSE MACAULAY

THIS is a book that should be read by everyone. It is a careful, detailed, and first-hand account, by a Sydney professor of modern history, of conditions in the Germany of today.

Professor Roberts, who was given every facility by the Nazi authorities for studying his subject, kept his head so well that he has succumbed nowhere to a desire to gratify his hosts, but has produced a work of objective criticism which will probably gravely displease them; in fact, it will no doubt be banned in Germany. Or will it?

After all, when he describes the crushing of the free press until it speaks only with its master's voice, the prostitution of the writing of history for schools (as a historian, this



Will he take it as a compliment?

seems to Professor Roberts the most terrible thing in the whole terrible business), the grinding down of minds to a common, controlled pattern, the cruel persecution of Jews and the gross Streicher press which is circulated among the young to encourage Jew-baiting, the imprisonment and exile for free speech, the crushing of culture, the militarizing of the minds of a whole nation, who are taught that their highest goal is the battlefield, the morbid penal code, the aggressive foreign aims, he is but describing the conditions which the Nazi authorities themselves glory in and extol. So the book may be taken as a compliment, apart from its caustic personal character-sketches of

the leading personalities, which make a very readable section of the book.

But to non-Nazis, the picture, obviously fair and dispassionate as it is, is as grim as anything I have come across on this grim subject. All pacifists should read it, if only to realize more clearly the degradation to which a militarized dictator-State can sink.

The New China

THE INVASION OF CHINA BY THE WESTERN WORLD. E. R. Hughes. A. and C. Black. 15s.

Reviewed by F. STROUDE

PARTLY by reason of their long period of self-imposed insulation from the outside world, the Chinese are little understood by Europeans.

This book will go a long way toward correcting many of the erroneous ideas prevalent concerning this great nation. The author is well qualified for the task, having spent a long period in a rural interior district, followed by residence in Shanghai and Peking.

After an interesting historical introduction the book proceeds to show the various western influences which have cooperated to produce the new China, dealing with these influences under such headings as missionary, political, educational, scientific, and literary, and concluding with a chapter on China today.

WESTERN BARBARISM

To the pacifist, the chapter on political thought will prove of great interest, as it shows how the Chinese, after admiring western civilization and striving to emulate it, received a staggering shock at the outbreak of the Great War. A passage from an address by Dr. Hu Shih, delivered in America in 1933, is worth quoting:—

A Chinese scholar once remarked—"It is easy for China to acquire the civilization of the west, but it is very difficult to master its barbarism. Yet, I suppose, we must first master this barbarism before we can feel at home in this new civilization." By barbarism he means the military side of the western culture.

The chapter dealing with educational influences is also of great interest, showing the genesis and growth of the "New Style," which made clarity the first consideration rather than the canons of antique stylism and elegant cadences.

In the final chapter present conditions are reviewed, and it will surely come as a shock to European patriots to hear that their influences have produced "a factory system which reproduces all the evils which characterized the early days of industrialization in Europe and America."

The book is illustrated by three maps, one of which is a reproduction of the sixteenth century map of the world by Matteo Ricci, and concludes with a comprehensive bibliography.

PACIFISM AND THE PUBLIC

by A. STEPHEN NOEL

Fifth Article—Tied Hands

A QUESTION that is asked of the pacifist is why people do not implement the good faith that they have in one another by action. The remark that people who believe that they can obtain peace by good will are deceiving themselves is part of the answer to this question.

The forces that propose at all costs to preserve the status quo in the armament world are very powerful.

The insidious suggestions that are whispered into the ears of all sorts of well-meaning people keep such people in a constant state of effervescence, believing that others are seeking their lives. Such a state of affairs is undoubtedly detrimental to the implementing of peaceful arguments given in public oratory.

Moreover, no country in the world has a clean slate. No nation can act toward another without reference to the past history of both and the inter-relations between the two.

Great Britain, in common with other countries, had its hands tied in Abyssinia. In the civil conflict in Spain ideological factions already had a hold upon the country before the actual explosion took place.

The commitments of Germany and Italy in many directions prevent good will between those countries and others. British material interests, often honourably held and wisely directed, in many other cases tie the hands of the British people when they desire to make a frank and open moral gesture toward a country that has no colonial possessions whatever.

Thus we are faced with the difficult problem of being the heirs of history, most of which history is seen in power-politics and chessboard diplomacy.

The presentation, in the "Pioneer Histories" series, is excellent, and publication at the present time peculiarly fitting.

In Brief

CHRIST OR FRANCO? Friends of Spain, 11a Hart Street, London, W.C.1.

In this booklet "a group of Spanish priests" answers the collective letter which the Spanish episcopate issued to the bishops of the world.

Can you kill men in the name of Him who died for men?

This, "Dick Sheppard's question," appears on the latest poster to be issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds.

T. Werner Laurie Ltd. are just adding to their 3s. 6d. fiction library *They Call Me Carpenter*, by Upton Sinclair. The theme of this powerful story is the introduction of Jesus Christ into the modern world, and among modern conditions, and it is a bitter satire on City life of today.

GIFTS FOR CHRISTMAS

HAVE YOU ANY BOOKWORM PACIFIST FRIENDS? What books will you give them for Christmas? You are no doubt wondering, too; they have probably read all the books which normally make suitable presents.

But they are almost sure to welcome a copy of Tolstoy's *Recollections and Essays*. It is now obtainable in the World's Classics series for only 2s.

For friends who have not yet read all the other "standard" works, you can obtain the following from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1:

The Power of Non-Violence, Richard B. Gregg, 5s.; *The Necessity of Pacifism*, J. Middleton Murry, 3s. 6d.; *We Say No!* H. R. L. Sheppard, 3s. 6d.; *The Faith Called Pacifism*, Max Plowman, 3s. 6d.; *Which Way to Peace?* Bertrand Russell, 2s. 6d.; *The New Pacifism* (essays by Gerald Heard, H. R. L. Sheppard, &c.), 2s. 6d.

Here are some other seasonable ideas:—

CHRISTMAS CARDS: 2d. and 4d., also from P.P.U.; 2d. each, card and envelope (individual samples, 3d. post paid), from Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1; 2d. each (or 8d. —not stamps—for sample of four) from Bob Gray, Buckland Newton, Dorchester.

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GRAMOPHONE RECORD made by Dick Sheppard when Dean of Canterbury, 3s. Order from Edward B. Hubert, 2 The Parade, Stroud Green Road, Finsbury Park, London, N.4. (Postage on 1, 2 or 3—6d.) Also one of his film speech—2s. 6d. from P.P.U.

CALENDAR, month-at-a-glance, with photograph of Dick Sheppard, from the P.P.U., 6d.

PHOTOGRAPHS and SIGNATURES of Dick Sheppard and George Lansbury, postcard size in folder, suitable as greeting card or for framing, 4d. each, post paid, from Douglas J. J. Owen, Friends' Meeting House, Manchester, 2.

A copy of the Christmas number of **PEACE NEWS**, together with a greeting card which we will supply, would also make a suitable carrier of the peace message. Or, if you are sending one of the Christmas cards referred to above, you could follow it up with a present of a subscription (for a quarter or longer) to **PEACE NEWS**.

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IN REMEMBRANCE

FEELING that something should be done to perpetuate the memory of Dick Sheppard, I should like to see a date fixed, and on this date each year for all P.P.U., F.o.R., and other pacifist organizations to hold Dick Sheppard memorial meetings.

What better date than November 11 (Armistice Day)? Thus could all pacifists, while honouring the war dead, also honour and remember our beloved founder and all those others who have died in the cause of world peace, at the same time renewing our pledge that "We renounce war, and never again will support or sanction

IDA HILLMAN.

795 Christchurch Road,
Boscombe, Bournemouth.

Children

By reason of my work I am in constant contact with children. These are the men and women of tomorrow. What are we doing to instil an active love of peace in them, to make them pacifists? It seems very little. Instead, we let them make games of war, games of mass murder.

It is curious logic to prefer the difficult task of converting an adult to the easier one of guiding a child.

There should be some organized attempt to reach the children. After all, there is the Junior Imperial League, and the Junior branch of the League of Nations Union.

Cannot the P.P.U. publish an attractive book showing children that pacifism is a lovelier game than war. Has anyone any suggestions?

MARY MORGAN.

Concord House, 23 Pembroke Villas,
London, W.11.

A Better Way

I was formerly against war for personal reasons—hatred of the humbugs and awards, profiteers and immoral hangers-on of war time, and of those who own England and its lands. But Dick Sheppard showed me a better way. It is more courageous and cleaner, that is why it appeals to the decent and more courageous youth of today.

J. MARTIN.

(Territorial, 1908—having swallowed *Daily Mail* "bunk"—till 1919, when used to murder Russian workers in Siberia.)

Harestone Hill,
Caterham, Surrey.

Cruelty

To attain to a real and lasting peace as taught and lived by Jesus Christ and to bring the kingdom of heaven here on earth means a substitution of the law of love for that of force. To do this men must not only cease to fight and destroy their fellows but must refrain from hurting the creatures or exploit them as is done in the name of science, fashion, and food.

(MRS.) J. L. WADE.

The White Cottage,
Knowle, near Birmingham.

Women Can Help

Being a girl I feel that the women should help as well as the men to bring us closer in relationship with Christ.

I think if we could but bring him more into the minds of people and thrill them with the story of over 1,900 years ago we should forget about armaments and war, and turn round—for are we not going the wrong way?

MABEL SERMON.

22 Trinity Avenue, Northampton.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

LETTERS
to the EDITOR

"Interest" and "Usury"

I CANNOT agree with Mr. Arthur Weller when he says that interest and usury are not the same thing. If Mr. Weller wishes to accommodate his neighbour with a loan of £100 he is perfectly at liberty to do this as an act of friendship, but if he demands the four percent on it (which society at present sanctions his doing) he is a usurer.

As the lender of the money will always presumably have security for his loan there is no reason why the mere convenience of the loan should be paid for. Money, after all, does not wear out in use as do other objects that are susceptible of hire. At this point it becomes obvious that it is not Mr. Weller who is the usurer individually: it is the whole system of the fertility of money.

Money represents value, either in goods or in service, and I do not see that £100 can be expected to increase in value by £4 a year because it has been removed into the pocket of Mr. Smith-next-door. What that will amount to in practice is that Mr. Smith-next-door will have so to use his £100 competitively that he can afford to pay the four percent to Mr. Weller as well as getting some good out of it himself.

The original lender of the money has, in the first instance, we shall assume, earned the £100 by direct labour. Now that Mr. Smith has it, one of two things can legitimately happen: either Mr. Smith can earn the £100 from Mr. Weller by direct labour (which means that Mr. Weller will be buying himself some useful service with his £100), or, after an arranged period, he must gradually begin to pay back the loan, by some arrangement of mutual convenience. The interest system may seem harmless enough when it is merely £100 and a pair of neighbours, but when it becomes enlarged into a system of such dimensions that thousands of people earn their whole living by such transactions its ugly features become plain enough.

I would suggest that Mr. Weller might be interested to follow this up by reading George Lansbury's *Why Pacifists Should Be Socialists* (Fact, No. 7), and Bernard Shaw's *Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism, Capitalism, Sovietism, and Fascism* (Pelican Books, A. 1 & 2), especially pp. 33 et seq. of volume 1.

MARIEL CARDEW.

The Pottery,
Winchcombe, Gloucestershire.

MR. WELLER says there is a difference between usury and interest, but omits to state it.

Now it would be possible for Mr. Weller, these days, to lend £100, then, say, to pass into a state of coma for a few years, and on waking up find himself in possession of £200, or even more.

That extra £100 would represent commodities which had been produced by somebody's labour, but certainly not Mr. Weller's. All that his money had done was to enable wages and bills to be paid before the goods produced were sold.

Interest exists in this speculative world because of the risk of loss. But what I argue in the pamphlet is that under economic communalism there would be no such risk, hence no claim to interest. People would be glad to hand over their savings to the community for safe keeping without charge, but without interest; whereas at present, owing to the incidence of interest, nearly half the national income is reaped by those who, in return, expend not one ounce of energy by hand or brain. As these recipients are a small minority, the majority are unable to satisfy their needs, whence follow poverty and unemployment. Whether that toll on the nation's industry be called interest or usury is immaterial.

Finally Mr. Weller accuses me of being strangely silent about tariffs, land values, etc. Why "strangely"? I was silent simply because I wrote on interest. If Mr. Weller wrote a pamphlet on Land Values, I conclude from his letters that he would be silent about interest, but also about Collective Security and a thousand other things.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

12 Victoria Avenue, Quinton,
Birmingham.

[This correspondence is now closed.
—Ed.]

Imperialism

Might I add to the book list given by Anna Melissa Graves (PEACE NEWS, November 20), Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiography (Bodley Head) and *Condition of India* (report of a delegation sent to India by the India League in 1932), published by *Essential News*, 65 Portland Place, London, W.1.

H. M. YOUNG.

9 Beatrice Avenue, Norbury.

RUSSIA

EXIGENCIES of space alone prevent me from replying in full to the five points of Miss Thorneycroft's answer. I will therefore select the third, and insist that her reference to the position of the Communist Party in Russia constituted misinformation.

As my authority I can do no better than to quote Sidney and Beatrice Webb. On page 422 of their *Soviet Communism* they say:

"The Central Executive Committee of the All-Union Congress of Soviets, representing . . . all the inhabitants in the U.S.S.R. . . . stands supreme over all the ramifications of the trade unions, the consumers' cooperative movement, and the various kinds of associations of owner-producers, just as it does over the tier upon tier of soviets." And again on page 430: "The (Communist) Party is outside the constitution. Neither the Party nor its supreme body can, of itself, add to or alter the laws binding on the ordinary citizens or residents of the U.S.S.R."

THOS. A. RUSSELL.

3 Tanza Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.

I have noticed the correspondence in your columns with regard to Miss Thorneycroft's lecture at Hampstead on Russia, and as chairman of the meeting at which that lecture was given, I should like to say that the report of it by your correspondent (Mr. Russell) is far from correct.

Miss Thorneycroft herself has dealt with the mis-statements made about her lecture, but I should like an opportunity to explain to your readers that, so far as I remember, Mr. Russell sat in silence right through the meeting and took no part in the discussion that followed the lecture.

Other people contributed remarks, and at least one P.P.U. member put forward views which appear to be the same as Mr. Russell's. I suggest therefore to Mr. Russell that having heard both sides of the case at a P.P.U. meeting he is unfair to Miss Thorneycroft in giving her views as a reason for suggesting that he does not wish to attend another P.P.U. meeting.

Finally the controversy brings up the old but important question of the right of free speech. Does Mr. Russell suggest that I should have stopped

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Miss Thorneycroft from speaking or that the P.P.U. censor every word that is spoken on its platforms? If so, he is advocating nothing less than fascism.

GODFREY ROBERTS.

28 Church Row, Hampstead, N.W.3.

Spiritualists

Many spiritualists who are members of the P.P.U. are responding to the call for coordination of our efforts on behalf of pacifism.

It is not possible to answer all, but I shall make every endeavour to issue a report very early in the new year.

May I thank members for their prompt communication.

RALPH WOOLFSTEIN.

217 Richmond Road, London, E.8.

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READY DECEMBER 16

H. R. L. SHEPPARD

A Note in Appreciation

Written by a member of the Peace Pledge Union, with which, as its founder, Dr. Sheppard was largely occupied during the last three years of his life, this book reveals him as a man for whom spiritual values were paramount. It explains how he inevitably was led to work in the larger field of humanity as well as within the Church.

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COBDEN-SANDERSON

Now that Labour backs rearmament—

PACIFISTS, IT'S UP TO YOU

NOW that labour has committed itself to a powerful armaments policy, it stands in danger of being dragged into support of a series of Government measures which may involve the militarization of the nation, and even making it safe for fascism.

This situation calls for increased vigilance on the part of pacifists. It creates a great and urgent need for publicity, and for propaganda on a large scale.

Labour's Cooperation Wanted

From now on, as a result of the Bournemouth decision, the Government will undoubtedly do everything in its power to secure Labour's co-operation in a policy of "national defence," which, in fact, will lay the foundations of a fascist State. The probable stages in this policy are already fairly clear.

Labour will be asked to cooperate with the Government:

In stimulating recruiting. Mr. Hore-Belisha has made his first appeal to labour, and can be relied upon to persist in his efforts.

In operating the air raid "precautions." These involve a very elaborate piece of social organization, including probably not less than a million key people. The duties and powers of this organization are capable of considerable expansion, and will unquestionably tend to usurp the powers of local authorities.

says
WILFRED WELLOCK,

prospective Labour candidate for
Stourbridge



In tightening up the nation's industrial organization, with the object of making it 100 percent efficient for war purposes, and thus a veritable part of the military machine.

In carrying conscription

Pacifists must be on the look-out for these tendencies, and keep in mind the fact that a considerable body of labour supporters will be ready to participate in action to combat them.

Far too much stress has been laid upon the "overwhelming" majority

for powerful armaments at the Bournemouth Conference. It should be remembered that very few trade union branches discuss political policy, while the trade union vote at the conference was nearly 2,000,000. On the other hand, the 262,000 minority vote probably represented more than fifty percent of the constituency party votes cast at the conference.

What Mr. Attlee Said

Furthermore, pacifist propagandists may like to know the words in which Mr. Attlee condemned at last year's Edinburgh Conference the policy that was adopted at Bournemouth this year. (By the way, I wonder why no-one quoted them at Bournemouth?) Here is what he said:

If you want to accept the position that you should go all out and support the Government in an arms policy divorced from foreign policy—an arms policy in which they asked for a free hand—where is it going to lead you?

It will lead you to demand after demand being made on your liberties. It will in effect lead to a demand that you shall accept fascism practically, in order to conquer fascism. We shall be no party to that!

There is thus considerable hope that the Labour Party may be induced to modify very considerably the position it now occupies, and as a consequence to lay more and more stress on constructive peace action, which is its true function and in line with its basic principles.

[FILMS]

Both Sides of a War

TWO remarkable films will be shown at the Regal Cinema, Marble Arch, London, W.1, on the afternoon of tomorrow week (December 19).

One was taken by Italians to "glorify" the war in Abyssinia.

The Real Christmas Spirit

THE intention not to sell or display toys or games suggestive of war—from lead soldiers to miniature guns—has just been announced by Arnold Constable & Co., one of New York's largest stores.

The other was taken in the Abyssinian lines.

The first shows the great drive for men and munitions, the attempt to popularize the war, and other war preparations in Italy and her African colonies. Then comes the war with its battles and bombing raids, and finally the triumphant speech by Mussolini from the Palazzo Venezia.

The second film, taken from the Abyssinian side, shows the struggle against overwhelming odds and the Emperor fighting and marching with his soldiers.

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MEETINGS

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Meetings in Lindsey Hall, The Mall, Notting Hill Gate, W.8, Sundays, 11 a.m.

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PARLIAMENTARY NOTES

By our Lobby Correspondent

It hardly looked as if Mr. A. P. Herbert's and Sir Kingsley Wood's rhymes and ruminations on the subject of falling population would yield much for comment in this column.

Yet, in these days, there are few Parliamentary debates which do not let in a little light on the issues of peace and war. As Mr. Pethick Lawrence told the House—and let it be noted he did so as the official mover of an official Labour amendment—women were now asking what sort of a world they were being asked to bring children into. Was it, he asked, to be a world of squandering and war?

On this basis, the women of the country are hardly likely to find much encouragement for an increasing population in the present-day attitude of the Labour Party.

A few lofty sentiments about the League and collective peace will not conceal that Labour, like the other parties, now stands for armaments and still more armaments. And at the end of the squandering upon them there can be only one thing—war.

Was Mr. Pethick Lawrence, then, offering discouragement to potential motherhood or merely stating incontrovertible fact? I don't know. But with the authority of his party, he was doing one or the other, perhaps both.

The Rev. Reginald Sorensen roundly declared later in the debate that

There were thousands of young people who deliberately refused to have children because they hated the idea of the most precious work of nature being smashed to a bloody pulp on the field of battle (being suffocated in a gas mask—is suggested as an alternative description). Even the *Daily Herald* was impressed, and printed three column headlines—"War Fears Keeping Down Birthrate."

Victor Schiff's article, splashed on the front page with all the pomp and circumstance the *Daily Herald* could give it, started with the astounding admission: "The war in Spain will not be won by force of arms"; and continued if the Spanish Government can reorganize its food supply, the war will go on for another year and even then will not be decided either one way or the other.

Surely this will not be lost on Mr. C. R. Attlee, who has a sane mind and a good heart. I hope, at least, when he returns from Spain to the great London Labour meeting on December 19, he will not encourage his followers to wait for an end so long in coming and so bitter for every decent Spaniard.

Surely, if Schiff is right, the time is for talk about ending hostilities that are so futile, not of supplying more arms.

Talk of "filling the breach with your Spanish dead" gets more nauseating with every delay in the effort to begin a negotiation for what war never

accomplished: peace and justice.

The Parliamentary atmosphere is heavily charged with uncertainty. There have been discovered plenty of mare's nests and the Government has probably enjoyed the journalistic stupidities which its own uncommunicativeness has engendered.

Nevertheless, we are on the eve of important announcements following on the talks with Hitler and the French statesmen. Pacifists must be prepared to make their own challenging decision about policies which make either for peace or war.

Of one thing I am certain. A peace engineered by rascals can't be worse than a war started by saints. They can't remain saints, anyhow, and continue war.

It is no part of the business of pacifism to withhold justice from Italy or Germany because Mussolini and Hitler ask for it. The case for the settlement of a hopeless Central European and colonial situation cannot now be long postponed.

James H. Hudson

Worried Because May not be able to Make War!

A SUGGESTED amendment to the U.S. Constitution to make it impossible for Congress to declare war (except in case of invasion) until a public referendum has been held is (reports *The Times*) "giving those charged with the direction of foreign policy some cause for disquiet."

"Cause for disquiet" has, however, been given to American peace organizations by what they consider the President's tendency to usurp the war-making power of Congress. Thus *Peace Action* quotes recent statements by Mr. Roosevelt and official action in the Far East as showing that

a few Americans "seeking fools' gold" are attempting to break down our neutrality and the President is himself thwarting the will of the nation.

Another allegation—that the President is aligning the U.S.A. with the "haves" against the "have-nots"—received confirmation last week when *The New York Times* urged a policy of "standing by the democracies," but failed to urge the democracies to constructive action.

Platform Pans

(Concluded from page 7, column 1)

Freedom

TWO events which occurred on Thursday of last week:—

Mr. A. J. Cummings, Political Editor, *News Chronicle*, told journalism students of London University that "we may have to fight again for freedom of the spoken and written word in this country."

Blackburn Town Council confirmed, by 24 votes to 18, the Library Committee's second refusal of an offer to place PEACE NEWS in the town's newsroom. Points in the discussion:—

Mr. Fred Hargreaves: The library should provide reading for all tastes, for minorities as well as majorities. It was not a question of whether they believed in peace or war, but of whether the public were to be denied the right of reading a paper that put a particular point of view.

Mr. Mottershead: The main objection to the journal was its policy toward the Government. There was no attempt to stifle real news in excluding a journal that fell definitely under the heading of propaganda.

The "main objection" is a denial of democracy, if the public is not to be allowed to read criticism of the Government. But the main object of PEACE NEWS is not to criticize the Government, but to give real news which is no more (but no less) propaganda than is the news which the usual daily newspaper permits its readers to know.

Christianity

IT would be interesting if the writers of the following passages could explain how such pacifist teaching can be reconciled with support of a "just war" and modern rearmament.

Right wins over wrong by refusing to take the same weapons that wrong uses, because you cannot beat the beast in the beast's own way without becoming a beast. That is what we have been proving these last few years. How did we overcome the ruthless nation which sprang upon the world with the suddenness of the leopard, the dull brutality of the bear, the remorselessness of the lion? Alas, in those unprepared moments, we had no other means than to out-beast the beast. So we won what we call the victory; but we are beginning to discover that it was not the victory: it was only a tilt upward of the see-saw. (Dr. F. W. Norwood, *The Cross and the Garden*, page 26, 1922.)

The Gospel proclaims that God is Love. If so, then Love is the root factor of reality. And the way to progress is not by the force which imposes on men what they resent, but by sacrifice which wins them to a willing acceptance. There are two kinds of victory. There is the victory of pride, won by force over beaten enemies; and it brings no peace; it brings the bitterness of defeat, the waiting for revenge, the renewal of the conflict when strength is restored. And there is the victory of Love, won by sacrifice over enemies who are by that sacrifice converted into friends. This is the only sort of victory God cares to win. . . . He is the root fact of reality, the inner life of human history. Progress can only come his way. (Wm. Temple, Archbishop of York, *Personal Religion and the Life of Fellowship*, page 68.)

SAID Vernon Bartlett in a London Regional broadcast last week,

The reason for all this talk about war is that we tried to cripple Germany after the War. . . . It is quite impossible at the end of a war to get a decent treaty of peace. That is one of the reasons why war is an absurdity.

If he were in charge of the affairs of the victorious nation after a war, he would compel his enemy to build up a huge army, while he would disarm as quickly as possible. Those in the other country would then start complaining of the injustice of having to maintain crippling armaments!

LATE NEWS

If you have difficulty in getting PEACE NEWS (or if your newsagent is unable to deliver it by Saturday morning) send a card at once to

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Peace News

December 11, 1937

Classified Advertisements on page 10

Peace Pledge Union's new pamphlet

GOD OR THE NATION

by Middleton Murry

32pp. "World-Unity of Mankind" or "Mechanized national State"? 2d.

KEEPING FIT— FOR WAR?

THE National Peace Council links national fitness to the peace campaign in the first of a series of "Campaign Notes" for speakers and others, issued in connexion with its "Charter for Peace and Social Justice."

Copies of the first six issues of the notes are obtainable for 1s., post free, from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, from whom can also be obtained copies of the charter and other literature.

The charter rejects Britain's part in the arms race and demands international cooperation, a policy for economic peace abroad, and social betterment at home. Following are some suggestions as to ways in which the charter might be used to arouse interest:—

1. It can be brought before groups of peace workers for discussion.
2. Publicity can be obtained for it in the local press.
3. Given a sufficient response, the charter can provide an expression of popular opinion of immense strength. (The National Peace Council's aim is to secure its endorsement by every sympathetic local organization—church, political party, trade union, &c.—in every constituency in the country.)

Toward Community

Out of the Bow conference on "Community Life and Activity," on Saturday, emerged a provisional committee to assist the movement by inter-communication, gathering exact information, and interchange of goods and services.

Inquirers should send stamped reply envelope to the Secretary, Community Coordinating Service Committee, "Chancton," Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey. A fuller report of the conference will appear next week.

CECIL PEACE PRIZE

"It is clearly desirable that membership of the League should be advantageous to a State, and non-membership or resignation involve a sacrifice. How can this end be attained?"

A prize of £100 (Cecil Peace Prize) is offered for the best essay on the above subject. Graduates, undergraduates, and students of any university or university college in Great Britain or Northern Ireland under 25 years of age are eligible to compete. The competition closes on November 1, 1938.

Particulars are obtainable from the Secretary, Universities Bureau of the British Empire, 88a Gower Street, London, W.C.1.

Of Special Interest to Pacifists

THE GOSPEL OF PEACE OF JESUS CHRIST by the disciple JOHN

An ancient text translated for the first time by Edmond Szekely and Purcell Weaver

Obtainable from the
Bureau of Cosmotherapy
Lawrence Weaver House, Leatherhead
Surrey Price 3/6 (Postage 3d.)

Cooperative Party Conference to Discuss War Resistance

From Our Own Correspondent

TUESDAY next (December 14) is the closing day for receipt of resolutions for the Cooperative Party Conference to be held at Brighton at Easter.

Amendments to resolutions already submitted will be in order if received by February 20.

The Nelson (Lancashire) co-operative political council has submitted a resolution asking the conference, "realizing that the causes of war, under capitalism, are beyond the reach of democratic control," to "call upon co-operators to refuse to be parties to war."

The resolution continues:—
Further, it pledges its first loyalty to co-operators in all countries; declares that it will give no support to any home government which requires it to make war on fellow-cooperators, and directs the executive committee to reshape the peace policy of that party accordingly.

The agenda on which this resolution will appear will be under discussion in every cooperative political council in the country before the conference. Pacifist co-operators should look out for it!

YOUNG KNIGHTS

The "Knights of the Order of the Cross"—the youth peace organization whose activities since its inauguration just over a year ago have been reported in PEACE NEWS—hopes to spread over the whole country and also abroad.

It was started in Thorne, Yorkshire, by Pastor Arthur H. Bird for boys under fifteen, with the motto "Peace through Friendship."

"One of our leaders has gone to India to work with Gandhi," the secretary told PEACE NEWS. He added that it was hoped to get in touch with people abroad through a short-wave radio organization with which the Knights of the Order of the Cross is now linked.

Information as to this organization is obtainable from Pastor A. H. Bird, 6 Frances Road, Basingstoke, Hampshire, or from its secretary, Mr. G. Davies, of 32 Lime Tree Grove, Thorne, near Doncaster.

ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP QUIET DAY

Saturday, January 8, 3 p.m.

Cond.: The Rev. Fr. Andrew, S.D.C.

at Holy Cross in S. Pancras

NON-MEMBERS CORDIALLY INVITED

A special course of four sermons has been arranged at the above Church, at 8.30 p.m., as follows:—
January 9

The Rev. R. C. S. Gofton-Salmond
January 16

The Rev. T. B. Scrutton

January 23

The Rev. Gilbert Shaw

January 30

The Rev. Fr. Andrew, S.D.C.

The Church is in Cromer Street, Judd Street; within two minutes of King's Cross or S. Pancras Stations.

DIARY OF THE WEEK

December

11 (Sat.) LONDON, W.C.1; 3—5 p.m. and 6—8 p.m. King's Cross Central Mission, Chestfield Street; conference; Christian Pacifist Party.

WEMBLEY; 7 p.m. Methodist Hall, Ealing Road; "Evening School" discussion; Collective Security—H. C. Banting; Pacifist Alternative—Nigel Spottiswoode; L.N.U.

12 (Sun.) PECKHAM; 7 p.m. Oliver Goldsmith School, Peckham Road; Nigel Spottiswoode on "The Necessity of Pacifism"; P.P.U.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE; 8.15 p.m. Y.M.C.A.; Canon Stuart Morris.

13 (Mon.) BRADFORD; 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Fountain Street; Cecil Wilson, Rev. Reginald J. Barker, Rev. J. W. A. Singleton, and Mrs. South (chairman); P.P.U.

LONDON, E.; 8 p.m. Mary Ward Settlement; Julius Lewin on "Colonies—A Problem of Peace." BLACKHEATH; 8 p.m. All Saints' Parish Hall; P.P.U. and Junior Imperial League debate; chairman, Victor Hindwood; P.P.U.

14 (Tues.) LONDON, N.W.1; 1.20—2 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Dr. Michael Hoffmann on "The International Youth College and Its Work"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

STRATFORD; 8 p.m. Town Hall; Capt. Philip S. Mumford, Canon S. D. Morris, and Miss E. Thorneycroft; P.P.U.

15 (Wed.) RHIBINA, Cardiff; 7.45 p.m. Beulah Road Schoolroom; Wilfred Wellock; P.P.U.

KING'S WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH Duke Street, Oxford Street, W.1 (opp. Selfridges)

'PEACE' SERVICE Thursday at 6.45 p.m.

December 16:
Speaker, Rev. E. Neville Martin, M.A., B.Sc. (of Reigate)

NO SERVICES, DECEMBER 23 & 30

The Story of The First Christmas

by the Rev. C. PAUL GLIDDON

will be presented at 7 p.m. on

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 19 & SUNDAY, JANUARY 9

The Music will be under the Direction of

PEARCE HOSKEN, B.Mus., F.R.C.O.

No Tickets Required

LEVENSHULME; 8 p.m. Congregational Church, Stockport Road; A. J. Brayshaw, Dr. E. Vipont Brown; play, "Women at War"; P.P.U.

16 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10—2 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Capt. Philip S. Mumford on "Pacifism in War Time"; City P.P.U. group. LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Mrs. Helen Grant on "Impressions in Spain"; City P.P.U. group.

WILLESDEN; 7.30 p.m. Furness Road School; James Hudson, Ruth Fry, John Barclay, and Miss E. Thorneycroft; P.P.U.

SHEFFIELD; 8 p.m. Y.M.C.A. Lecture Hall; Canon Stuart Morris, Rev. E. Benson Perkins, and G. E. Follows (chairman); P.P.U. NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE; 8 p.m. Mission Hall, Friends' Meeting House, Pilgrim Street; Dr. E. Leighton Yates on "What air raid precautions mean"; F.O.R.

17 (Fri.) WORCESTER; 7.45 p.m. Cooperative Hall; Lord Ponsonby, Canon Stuart Morris; P.P.U.

WALLINGTON; 8.15 p.m. Presbyterian Church Hall, Stafford Road; Dr. Har Dayal on "India and the peace movement"; P.P.U.

18 (Sat.) ROMFORD Market P.P.U. Stall.

19 (Sun.) BAYSWATER; 11 a.m. Ethical Church, Queen's Road; Peace Sunday; Max Plowman on "Peace in Our Time."

READING; 11 a.m. St. John's Church; 6.30 p.m. The Park Congregational Church; Canon S. D. Morris.

SHADWELL; 4 p.m. Highways Club, Paddy's Goose; Nigel Spottiswoode; P.P.U.

BAYSWATER; 4.30 p.m. Ethical Hall, Queen's Road; branch meeting; Dr. George de Swietochowski on "Poland's Foreign Policy"; L.N.U.

Coming Shortly

January 8, BRISTOL; 2.30—5 p.m. and 6—8.30 p.m. Central Hall; Pacifist Convention; George Lansbury, Dr. Alfred Salter, Dr. Alex Wood, Laurence Housman (chairman) and others.

January 20, NOTTINGHAM; Albert Hall; Canon Stuart Morris, Wilfred Wellock.

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